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/For information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in the ritual purification rites following death, see category 783./

1: Nachtigall

SC15 Paez SC15

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/Information on the use of alcoholic beverages, coca, and medicinal herbs in shamanistic curing ceremonies and seances will be filed in category 755./

/112 cont./

142 age the hair seldom becomes white. We met only one woman with slightly graying hair and an old man with a gray, sparse [302] beard, but dark hair. The beard among men is scant. The beard hair is regularly plucked (see Ills. 148 to 155 /see pp. 265-268/).

143 According to the blood-group analysis of the Paez, among the 303 individuals examined there were 88.78 per cent of blood group 0, 6.93 per cent of blood group A, and 4.29 per cent of blood group B. The blood group A+B is not represented (G. Arcila Velez, pp. 11-14).

829 The racial concept of Indian is foreign to the Paez themselves. To them "Indio" designates a cultural status. My colleague, Segundo Bernal Villa, an Indian from the region of Pasto, was designated as "blanco" because of his European clothing. And when our interpreter Victoriano bought himself "white clothing" (hat, pants, shirt, shoes) with the money he earned, he was called a "white" in his village and accordingly treated with hostility.

161 The population figures for the Paez do not seem either to increase or decrease, as far as the uncivilized Paez are con-
165 cerned, for example, in Calderas. Infant mortality comes to more
164 than 50 per cent. The most common cause of sickness is whooping cough. The health of children who survive their second year, as well as of adults, is -- considering the circumstances -- quite good. True, one scarcely sees old people over 60 (and [132] those who look that old are probably younger). The most fre-
[362] quent illness of adults is tuberculosis, which claims numerous victims, since the nights are very cold and the cold and wind can [262] penetrate through the light walls of the houses unhindered. More-
[273] over, no fat of any kind is commonly eaten. Another illness from which many Paez suffer, which, however, is not taken seriously, is stomach trouble caused by the drinking of brandy even during [154] infancy and the unsuitable diet in childhood. Infants are given [262] beans, cabbage, and yuca, but no milk, except mother's milk.

1: Nachtigall--30 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Physicians are not consulted in any case. All illnesses that do not show external influences are traced back to evil sorcery or to the "pest" (see under "Religion"/see p. 191 ff./). They must therefore be treated by the native shamans /see the glossary, p. 250 /. Open wounds and injuries are treated by the midwife. Now and then, however, people visit the mission station in order to have a tooth pulled, on which occasion the nurses without reservation praise their great steadfastness in enduring pain.

The impairment to health caused by the consumption of coca and chicha seems to me to be exaggerated by the authorities; it would be even less with sensible and nourishing food. The prohibition against coca consumption and the government's battle against coca and chicha give the impression of being more a struggle against a brandy tax deficit, for alcohol under the state monopoly may be sold to any Indio in any quantity. The fact that the Paez generally does not work hard and continuously probably has nothing to do with any degeneration caused by the stimulants mentioned, but rather it is quite simply his psychological attitude which does not let him see why a human being should strive for things which seem unnecessary to him, things beyond his animal necessities of life, eating and reproduction. I often asked whether, in their opinion, there might come a time when the Paez, too, would wear only Colombian clothing or even use electric lighting. They had never thought about it and in no instance had an answer.

II. Material Culture

1. The Dwelling

a) The Settlement

Politically and sociologically the Paez villages of Tierradentro embrace the inhabitants of a valley basin more or less closed off by the surrounding mountains. In their structure, however, they are not villages in our sense, by which we understand a locally concentrated aggregation of a number of houses,

In one case, however, in the house of
/115 cont./

596 Ezequiel Calliumbo, there were three married sons, besides three unmarried ones, all of whom cultivate the fields together. Ezequiel, who is about 60 years old, had ten children, of whom six sons are still living. The oldest son has three children, two of whom have died, the second eldest has four children, two of whom have died, and both the children of the third eldest are dead.

342 The normal houses (yat) are rectangular houses with a hip roof and, depending on their size, are divided into "large houses" (hatwála) and "small houses" (yatlĕckwe) (Ills. 158 and 159 /see pp. 270 and 271 /). In accordance with its use the dwelling house specifically is called ŏpyat (ŏp = to live). The dimensions of the small houses vary between five to ten meters in length and
[345] three to five meters in width. The largest houses are up to 15 meters long and seven meters wide. These are primarily the
342 festival houses. As dwellings they differ from the small ones,
409 which represent by far the greatest proportion of all houses, not
249 only by their /116/ size, but above all by the fact that they have
352 the sugar mill (lapíče) /"Trapiche" (Sp.) in the glossary, p. 250 /, which is a feature of every house, in their interior. As a rule it stands in front of the house or a little to one side of it, normally covered with quantities of expressed sugar-cane stalks hung over it
343 to dry. Besides the sugar mill, a small menstruation hut (dúyat)
342 is required for any house to be complete; it may be absent only if the family erects a small field-hut (ĕyatwá) in the middle of the field for a harvest period. In this case the women of the family living there go into the dúyat of another house. In no case may
[341] they remain in the dwelling during this period. The field hut and the small menstruation-hut are rectangular gable-roof houses in construction and, with the exception of the gable roof, of the same construction as the normal hip-roofed houses.

342 Every house has an annex (škídnyeyát) or at least a com-
273 partment for storing the chicha trough (kánoe). This trough is the
251 most important accessory of a Paez house, next to the sugar mill (Ill. 165 /see p. 273 /).

/118 cont./

342 and begin to chew coca and tobacco and to drink brandy to-
761 gether. After a while the shaman ascertains through signs in
789 his arms or legs whether bones of the Pijao are in the ground.
756 If this is not the case, the building may be started; otherwise
787 the man must look for another building site. After the building is finished, a further ceremony is performed (see under "Religion"
342 /see p. 205/), and then the same shaman fastens special herbs
756 to the roof to prevent the eč or gelyómp spirit, hostile to man,
789 from entering the house from there.

Houses are built only by men, by fathers of families.
342 One man alone, however, is not in a position to do this. At
476 least in the erection of the house posts he is helped by his brothers,
[462] as well as by other men and friends who have nothing else to do anyway on these days and receive chicha and something to
342 eat for their assistance. The building material costs nothing,
273 to be sure, but the builder must furnish a substantial amount of
476 chicha, for which planning must be begun in plenty of time, two or three years beforehand, by the planting of sufficient sugar cane. This is the task of the married son who is still living in
[594] his father's house this long. To make the chicha he also still
[249] needs the sugar mill of his father, upon whose consent and help,
[461] therefore, much depends. According to the amount of chicha that is available, the building of the house thus lasts two to six months, depending on whether only five or 15 men participate.

342 The most important thing in the construction of the house
335 is the erection of the wooden frame (Ills. 161 to 164 /see p.272 /),
[476] which always requires several men who bring in the trees, which are superficially smoothed with the machete, but not freed of bark. The master of the house is able to make the walls by
[462] himself in an emergency. The covering of the roof, too, like the entire house construction, is men's work, but the woman of the house may hand up the sugar-cane leaves for the roofing. First the vertical corner and side posts of the outer walls (yátsínda) are erected, then the outer beams lying horizontally on the side posts to support the roof (yátpopānt) are laid on, and, as the third step in the work, the horizontal crossbeams (bīkas) are fastened at

/118 cont./

342 ceiling height. It should be noted that all the beams are merely
335 lashed with lianas, /119/ but not mortised. The roof does not rest directly on the corner and side posts; rather, the crossbeams (bīkas) and the rafters (yátkát) are tied to the rectangular, horizontal frame of the roof, and only the latter rests on the vertical posts.

The fourth step in the work is the building in of the ridge beam (dahwāk), together with the rafters, the former being supported primarily by the center post (pwát), usually the only house post that extends vertically through to the ridge. It is not exactly in the middle of the longitudinal axis of the house, but somewhat to the side of it, in the place where the two rooms of the house are partitioned off. Here it serves at the same time as a wall post. The horizontal purlins (kwīnt), which are lashed to the rafters (yátkát) one above the other about 20 centimeters apart, are the only part of the house frame that is not of wood, but instead they consist of a type of reed (karís). The roof (yátominyē) is covered with sugar-cane leaves (nyúša éts) by proceeding from the bottom up and hanging the leaves over the purlins in such a way that the tips lie on top and the lower parts show on the outside. Finally one or two ridge purlins are laid over the still open ridge, and an even layer of sugar-cane leaves is spread crosswise over this. The elevation thus formed provides an exit for the smoke at the two gable ends of the house. The ridge covering is protected from blowing away by two poles placed over it (Ill. 162 /see p. 272/).

342 A newly built house (yátūse) lasts about 15 years. In be-
356 tween, however, the roof must be repaired several times.

On entering a Paez house one is assailed by a sweetish odor
574 of fermentation arising from the chicha, somewhat like that at
576 grape-gathering time in the houses of the German winegrowers'
● [273] villages. Before entering, one opens the door (vitc) of the house and calls out in a questioning tone, "payoēt" (I should like to enter); from the interior there comes back, "mkāc" (sit down). When no one is at home, the door is usually tied shut with a small piece of bast. Sometimes even this is omitted, for no one

/121 cont./

372 In case the fire should go out, which happens very rarely, the men, if they have no matches, know how to make fire by striking the blade of the iron machete with a stone and catching the sparks in the dry tinder of expressed sugar-cane. To fan this or a dying fire the hat is used as a fire fan, instead of a special fan. A few times I also saw a reed tube (yotá) about 50 centimeters long, which is blown into with the mouth and which thus acts like a bellows.

352 [854] [513] [286] Infants do not as a rule sleep on the floor, but in hammocks (máka), which, however, as the name indicates, were not originally Paez. Nevertheless all the men know how to make them out of agave fibers, which is done with the same knotting technique as in the manufacture of nets for bird hunting.

415 [286] Moreover, a few bags (yáha) made of agave fibers, which contain beans, maize, or other supplies, hang on the wall posts.

[353] Arracacha lies on the floor. For drinking chicha, which is allowed

● [273] to ferment in large, hollowed-out tree troughs, calabashes (tóka) are used, but they are plain and undecorated. Cracked calabashes are sewed with a waxed agave thread (Fig. 25 /see

[249] p.253/). The calabash gourd is grown in the house garden /122/

412 of every family; its meat is inedible. Furthermore, an oval or

352 rectangular grindstone on which maize is ground with a smaller hand-stone is found in every household. It usually lies on the floor in a corner of the house, but sometimes it is set about one meter high on two forked posts.

412 Meals are taken with wooden spoons (todšá 'tc) off of

415 wooden plates (bič), which are carved by the Paez themselves

264 (Fig. 27 /see p. 253/). Aluminum or enamel bowls were rarely

[322] encountered in Calderas. Plates and mugs of aluminum were

[177] therefore always coveted gift articles, along with kitchen knives, needles, safety pins, matches, and salt.

356 Cleanliness within the house is surprisingly great, consider-

515 ing that the Paez wash their bodies but seldom and their hands only when they are "very dirty." This is the case when a person has been working in a burned field and has cleared away the

000 sooty, burned tree trunks and the burned underbrush. The house

000 /133 cont./

264 food and bean leaves as the worst. They eat together. The
[415 412] family sits around the fire and the woman serves. They do not, however, eat out of the large cooking pot, which is usually of clay, though sometimes of aluminum, but rather the soup is dipped out with a wooden ladle into shallow bowls, from one of which the men, that is to say, the father and sons, eat, and
[263] the mother, daughters, and small children eat out of another one.
[353] Above the fire area a few small pieces of rock salt hang in a small pouch or lie on a rack and are used to salt the food after it is cooked. To do this each one takes the piece of salt and holds it or puts it in his plate until the soup is sufficiently salted.

252 In the following, a few dishes: 1) maize flour, ground
262 on the oval or rectangular grindstone with a hand-stone, is cooked with beans and cabbage; 2) vegetable bananas with beans and arracacha; 3) green ears of maize with beans (wood ashes are added to every maize dish, in order to make the maize tender more quickly); 4) green ears of maize with white cabbage; 5) white cabbage, arracacha, and potatoes; 6) beans and vegetable bananas; 7) only beans and maize flour; 8) arracacha and beans. Eggs are either boiled hard in the shell in a pot, or the egg is beaten with a spoon in a dish, water and onions are added, and
[415] the whole is cooked. All foods are cooked in a large pot as soup; only ears of maize roasted in a bowl /Schale, "bowl, shell, husk"/ (wáts; Spanish arepa) are an exception. Meat is only boiled, never roasted; they eat the meat of cattle, sheep, and pigs, as well as poultry and guinea pigs, but not horse meat. If horses die, the carcasses are devoured by dogs.

/134/ c) Means of Enjoyment

● 273 The two most important pleasures for the Paez, as for the
276 cultures of the entire Andean area, are coca and chicha. Tobacco plays a subordinate role.

P /135 cont./
276 exchange for brandy, wheat, or maize (for exchange and barter
249 rates, see "Trade" /see pp. 92-94 /). Within the family each
437 one harvests for himself as many leaves as he happens to need;
otherwise the father of the family usually barters for the entire
family. Harvest time is throughout the year (Ill. 174 /see
P p. 277 /).

276 Before use the leaves are roasted in a clay bowl and then
317 carried around in the colored wool pouch (kwatandyáha), together
[415] with a small calabash containing lime. The lime (kwatánd) is
obtained from limestone (kwatandkwát) which crops out at various places throughout the region and which men and women look for as it is needed, or the husband sends his wife to fetch a few stones. These pieces of limestone are put in a vigorously fanned fire for two hours, /136/ then in a clay bowl, and cold water is
P poured over them. After that the cracked stone is pounded to
276 powder. To enjoy it, one takes a handful of leaves out of his pouch and puts them in the mouth and chews them for a while, until the lime can be added. Care must be taken that neither the tongue nor lips come in contact with the lime. Beginners press the coca mash flat against their tongues with their gums and sprinkle a pinch of lime from the pear-shaped, absolutely unadorned calabash (kwatandóka) upon it; practiced coca-chewers take a pinch of lime on the back of the hand between thumb and index finger and toss it into the open mouth with a flourish. The green saliva copiously produced is partly spat out, but most of
P it is swallowed. In the case of old people it often runs out of the
C mouth and drips on the clothing (Ill. 179 /see p. 280 /).

276 According to my experiences among the Paez and the
P coca-chewing Colombian workers, the harmful effect of coca
C seems to be exaggerated in most of the studies on the subject.
276 Of interest, however, are the data of C. Gutiérrez Noriega (1952),
146 who investigates the psychological and physiological effect of
● 273 taking coca, especially among the Peruvian Indios. There, in the region of the greatest coca consumption, two to four kilograms per person and year, the daily amount of food for a worker is only about 2,000 calories per day. With a simultaneous drinking of brandy and an inadequate diet, physical and mental consequences

P
C
/136 cont./
276 are naturally more in evidence than in the case of the use of
146 coca with good nutrition and as the only indulgence. Along
● 273 with improved nutrition and corresponding enlightenment, a
prohibition on brandy instead of its propagation would be more
C desirable for the health of the people than a prohibition on coca.
[651] The departments, however, draw their chief income from the
P brandy tax, whereas coca was always tax-free.

276 Tobacco (wáhi) is neither planted by the Paez nor con-
[249] sumed in large amounts, since there is generally no money
available for the purchase of tobacco or cigarettes. Both sexes,
P however, smoke gift cigarettes, and, to be sure, from child-
[75C] hood, that is, from two to three years of age. The shamans
[755] in their séances and ceremonies are in the habit of chewing
cigarette tobacco along with coca, but it is always purchased.
These séances last many hours or throughout the night, during
which shamans and patients together chew this mixture uninter-
P ruptedly.

273 Chicha (pronounced tschitscha) is one of the alcoholic
[171] beverages which, made out of various raw materials, are wide-
spread among the natives /137/ throughout South America, with
manioc chicha predominating in the forest region (Venezuela,
Brazil) and maize chicha in the Andean region (Cooper, pp.
539 f. and Map 11). Two methods of production are distin-
guished, according to whether it is a matter of raw materials
with a high sugar content (honey, sugar cane, palm sap, pine-
apple) or more starchy crops (manioc, maize). The former ferment
without the addition of saliva and need not be chewed in the
preparation; the latter need human saliva before or after cook-
P ing in order to ferment.

[137] Among the Paez chicha (mbéca) is made only from the
juice of sugar cane, a raw material that is not American, but
came from southern Asia and did not come to America until the
post-Columbian period (Maurizio, 1933, p. 75). Formerly
chicha was made out of maize, as it still is today among the
neighbors of the Paez living in higher regions (for example, the
Guambiano). The name for sugar-cane juice, nyúšayumfl

/137 cont./

• 273 (= sweet water), as for the unfermented chicha, does not in any case have anything in common with the name for fermented chicha. Moreover, there is no separate name for sugar cane; nyúša also means "sweet" and "honey."

249 In the region of the Paez, sugar cane may be planted and harvested throughout the year. The juice of the cane is pressed [407] out in the sugar mill (lapíce). The latter stands in front of or inside every house; it belongs to every family in the same way [273] that each has its sugar-cane field and its chicha. The latter has [431] no commercial value whatever, but is merely given away, and 249 anyone who asks for it gets it. The sugar mill (Fig. 28 /see 407 p254 /) of the Paez of Calderas and southern Tierradentro consists of two tree trunks smoothed off on either side, which form the lateral posts (mágrena) of the mill. They are rammed into the ground and are provided, each one twice, with two recesses that receive the horizontal guidebeams (sépo) for the three crushing cylinders. These guidebeams are merely pinned. No metal parts or nails of any kind are used here or in the entire construction. Below the two lower guidebeams a strong plank is fastened to the lateral posts, upon which the three cylinders (ũnk) rest. Of these only the center one is turned by means of a crossbar, with human power or by a horse, whereas the two lateral ones are moved by means of pegs, which are most accurately fitted, but are not in addition pinned. A horizontal pole is lashed above each of the two lower cylinder-guidebeams, in order to guide the sugar cane shoved in for pressing. Below the cylinders lies a rectangular board (tablõn) with /138/ two longitudinal grooves, [492] in which the extracted sugar-cane juice runs out at the side. If a horse is used to move the crushing cylinders, it is hitched up with two ropes leading out from a rope tied around the belly of the horse, so that the horse does not pull with its chest, as is customary among us.

H. Pittier de Fábrega illustrates (Pl. VI/2) another type of sugar mill from northern Tierradentro, which shows only two horizontal cylinders, one above the other. Both are clamped with pegs between two vertical posts and are turned on either side by hand. The extracted juice is caught in a pouch hanging underneath.

/138 cont./

249 In chicha production for festive days it is customary for
407 the mill to be turned only by human power, by men or women.
461 One could generally observe that the slightly intoxicated men
● 273 exerted themselves only a short time in each case and were then relieved by the more sober acting women, who -- with their children on their backs -- showed remarkable endurance at this physically quite hard work.

407 Almost every father of a family and houseowner makes his
335 sugar mill himself, or a neighbor helps. There are no profes-
[412] sional carpenters. With an ax (swéla) and a foxtail saw (serúčo) the cylinders are sawed from a tree trunk and crudely smoothed. The cylinders thus prepared are provided with a small hole in the center, from the base and upper side, and are clamped horizontally, by means of pegs, between two posts rammed into
[413] the ground and held together with a rope. Then with a gauge (regla), which consists of a board with thorns, the distances between the pegs are precisely incised on the revolving drum.

273 The sugar cane is put through the crushing cylinders
[249] several times by the workers, one squatting on either side, until
516 the juice, which is caught in a wooden tub or in calabash vessels,
415 is pressed out (Ill. 175 /see p. 278/). It is first vigorously heated and then put in a large horizontally positioned tree-trough (kánoa) up to five meters long, in which there must always be a little chicha to begin with (Ill. 165 /see p. 273/). It is stirred up with the old chicha in the trough, the kánoa is covered with banana leaves, and already the next morning the chicha is ready to be drunk. As time goes on the chicha becomes ever stronger in alcoholic content. By noon of the same day it is already strong enough to distill brandy from it. *If one does not do this,* /139/ some water must be added the next day to dilute it. If this is not done, the chicha is neither drunk nor is new sugar-cane juice added, whereupon it becomes sour and bitter after four or five days and strongly sears the throat. There are also "gourmets" among the Paez, however, who let the chicha go on fermenting, untouched, for up to three weeks and only then drink it so sharp and sour.

/139 cont./

● 273 No new chicha can be made without some old chicha in the kánoa. The sugar-cane juice, even if it were left standing for many days, would still be merely sweet and not produce proper fermentation. After five or seven days, however, there is a certain kind of fermentation (probably as a result of the acid content of the wood of the empty kánoa), but of very bad taste.

[476] In case a person is planning a major piece of work for which he must ask people to come and then, of course, also entertain them properly for their labor, the sugar cane is milled the day before, and on the following day the chicha is ready and may be served. It is said that chicha drunk in any quantity does not produce discomfort of any kind or headache.

Besides the production of chicha, which is carried on by all families, each family also has in its house distilling apparatus

[462] with which brandy is distilled from the day-old chicha. This distillation is commonly the work of the women while the men are in the field. It may also be undertaken, however, by men or youths. The distilling apparatus (walyíndeya) consists of three vessels, a large clay pot holding ten to 15 liters, which is two-thirds full of strong chicha, anise, a pound of dill, cloves, cinnamon, and other herbs. A second clay pot without a bottom is set on this and hermetically sealed to the upper edge of the lower chicha pot with a paste of water and wood ashes. Into the upper edge of this second pot are drilled three holes, by means of which a flat wooden plate is tied inside the pot, just below the mouth, and has cut into it on one side a groove leading to the outside through a hole in the wall of the pot and emptying into a tube. A shallow copper bowl sits, sealed airtight, on this second pot. In the distillation process the evaporated alcohol, passing through the second pot, strikes the bottom of the copper bowl. The latter is constantly filled with cold water. The alcohol vapor condensing on the underside of the copper bowl drips onto the wooden plate, flows out through the runoff tube, and is caught in bottles (Ill. 176 /see p. 278 /).

/166 cont./

435 scarce. Nevertheless, the barter rate of the wool of a sheep for
437 a bag of maize was not shaken.

The sheep themselves were generally not bartered, but only
[804] the wool, which amounts to about a pound. The equivalent is a tomín (Span. pile) of sugar cane piled up in a mound about a meter wide at the base and a meter high. In exceptional cases of bartering sheep, I was told that the equivalent is ten tomín of sugar cane or 12 pounds of coca leaves or two arrobas of maize (one Spanish arroba corresponds to approximately 12.5 kilograms). In this case, as in many barter transactions, the customary barter equivalents sometimes deviate considerably from the market prices customary among the Paez. (The official market prices in the trade with the colonists on the weekly market are about five times as high.) Thus, for example, one tomín of sugar cane is worth 20 centavos, but one pound of wool from a sheep, one peso. Arracacha is also bartered in the form of a tomín quantity, which comes to about ten to 12 pieces. The value in money is ten centavos. One pound of coca leaves is exchanged for one pound of salt (value 20 centavos) or one pound of rice or ten eggs. The latter cost 25 centavos apiece at the weekly market in Inzá.
The Paez use stones as pound weights, which are gauged accord-
[405] ing to a pound of salt bought from a trader in Inzá. Two calabashes fastened to a scale beam serve as scales.

[804] Potatoes are bartered in cuartillas and measured out in large wooden bowls which are made by the Paez themselves and contain about ten pounds. The equivalent consists of half a bottle of brandy. This would come to 80 centavos at a trader's, as the barter /167/ amounts of a tomín of sugar cane or a fiber bag full of maize indicate. Vegetable and fruit bananas are bartered by the whole bushels (tlóits), which, however, in Tierradentro contain only about 30 to 50 bananas. Two bushels are worth a bag of maize. Beans, like maize, are bartered in fiber bags, and
[432] a bag full of cabbage has the same value. Chicha is not sold, but
[431] only given away.
● [273]

/167 cont./

484 while the /168/ woman on foot lugs the goods behind. From
439 Calderas more men than women visit the market. For both it
482 is a very welcome occasion to become intoxicated. The
[273] owners of the taverns try to prevent the stealing of the much
[275] coveted beer and whiskey glasses, popularly practiced by the Paez, by chaining the glasses to the tavern tables.

On market days it is customary to leave very early and to transport the loads in the fiber bags in the customary way: the men take the carrying belt diagonally across their chests and the women hold it with their foreheads. In both cases the bag hangs on their backs. Then generally travel in groups of twos or threes, but not infrequently one also meets solitary
[432] individuals. Provisions are taken along, for, as a matter of
[273] principle, nothing is bought on the way except chicha or brandy.
[485] If it is necessary to stay overnight, nothing is paid for this. They sleep either at the entrance of a house of acquaintances or spend the night in the open field.

439 For traveling and for the visit to the market they try to wear
484 at least one article of European clothing, a felt hat, a shirt, or
[291] a blouse. The quality plays only a minor role, since the worst
[177] shirt is still more desirable than the finest ruana. A person who cannot buy anything in the way of clothing at least ties a black
[262] band around his hat, such as the felt hats have. Provisions are carried along in the fiber bag, roasted maize, cabbage, potatoes,
[415] arracacha. A person who can carries with him two or three of
484 the woolen coca pouches, in one of which there is coca and lime,
461 in another one money, and in the third the plaiting material
[285] for the straw hat. Almost all the men do this plaiting work, which actually is not work at all, but more like a "blind occupation," when they have nothing else to do, either when visiting, on the way to market, or also during the shaman ceremonies.
[283] The women, no matter where one meets them, are equally in-
[285] dustrious and always busy with spinning or plaiting the fiber bags or the wool coca-pouches. Like the men, they carry their work material with them in a second wool pouch.

/196 cont./

764 184 It is dug out about 1.50 meters and at the bottom provided with a lateral longitudinal niche about 40 centimeters high. This niche is generally hollowed out on the left side, but sometimes on the right. The body is laid in this, without the bier and without accessories, horizontally on its back, so that it no longer extends into the shaft of the grave. The shaft and the niche are, in addition, separated by vertical stakes and rods placed side by side so that the deceased cannot be touched by the earth filling the grave. On the latter, a stone about one meter high is placed at the head or foot end for identification.

[793] [756] The priest is not present at a burial, nor is the shaman who acts for the district of the deceased. The latter also does not enter a house in which there is a dead person. The participants in the funeral procession, men, women, and children, go to the graveyard together and then back again to the house of the deceased, where lavish entertainment with food, chicha, and brandy now follows. The latter was also drunk copiously on the way to and from the burial place. The mood during the entire time is 756 jolly and animated; people laugh and make jokes. Before the 764 participants enter the house upon their return from the burial, 783 they must go to the river where the shaman awaits them, in order 184 to "cleanse" them of the "pest" of the deceased for the first time (see "Religion"). Then they go together to the house of the deceased, which they may not enter, however, until the shaman has also cleansed this with the same remedies with which he freed the human beings of the "pest." These are water, to which special herbs and cow excrement are added, sprinkled everywhere, as well as brandy, which, mixed with herbs, the shaman squirts everywhere.

764 184 In Togoima we were able to take part in the burial of two small children (angelitos). The graves of the cemetery in this town all have an east-west direction. The niche is always at the left, the body lies on its back with the head toward the west. The size of the grave required is measured with a bamboo stick that is as long as the deceased. Before the burial, there is drinking, [273] [535] [533] music, and dancing in the house. /197/ Music is also played at the burial and on the way to the graveyard.

Sp /197 cont./
764 The child had been laid in a coffin which was painted on the out-
C side with stars. The female relatives had made a so-called "canopy,"
123 /198/ a pole two meters high, on the tip of which was fastened a white hoop decorated with flowers, from which hung eleven colored paper streamers, one of which was carried by each of the participants. I, too, was asked to take one, and then we set out -- without the mother of the deceased child -- with music, for the graveyard where the small coffin was opened once more and then lowered
P into the earth without formality.

764 Among the Paez of Togoima, too, there is drinking, dancing,
184 and singing at the death of a child, and here, too, the mother does
[273] not take part in the burial at the graveyard. The body is carried
[533] by a woman -- usually the godmother -- in a small sedan chair of
[535] bamboo, accompanied by the music of drum, timpano, and flute,
[608] to the burial place where several men have already scooped out a grave with the lateral niche (Ills. 204 and 207 /see pp. 290 and 291/). The deceased child has a few flowers in its mouth. It is wrapped in a cloth and is laid in a recumbent position, along with a bouquet of flowers, in the niche, which is separated from the shaft by the rods of the sedan chair placed vertically side by side. The earth thrown into the pit is stamped down very firmly with posts.

P In Calderas, too, the mother of a "little angel" to be buried
[608] does not go along to the graveyard. The small corpse is carried by the godmother, not in a sedan chair, but simply wrapped in a cloth, on her arm.

The burial of the Christian Indios of San Andrés shows transi-
P tions in the shape of the grave from the Paez niche-grave to the
[674] simple, rectangular pit of the other Christians. We took part in the burial of the capitan who had been stabbed by his drunken son during a quarrel. The direction of the grave in the cemetery of San Andrés is always east-west; the head lies on the west side with the ground sloping upward. Instead of a lateral niche, a trapezoidal hollow about 50 centimeters deep is dug at the bottom of the shaft, which is covered horizontally by bamboo put so closely together that no earth can fall down, and the corpse is practically just as well

/208 cont./

796 assured -- always volunteer. Besides, no one can be forced. But this is not necessary, since there are always more applicants for this position than are needed. On account of the very high costs, however, no one can be fiestero more than three times in all. This number is not the absolute highest, but represents the normal maximum given the financial circumstances of the Paez. One may be albacero more often, however -- up to ten times, I was told -- since this person does not donate any cattle for feeding the village, but merely a pig for the meal on the eve of the festival, and bears the cost of the festival accessories other than the food supply (decorations for the church, candles, fireworks, and the "crazy cow"). The mayordomos only join in with contributions of money to pay the priest.

The fiestero and albacero themselves do not work, but merely serve the guests. For the preparation of the food they have [476] their helpers, men and women, who voluntarily help and at the [273] end of the festival are specially entertained. Above all, carrying the sugar cane from the fields for the large amounts of chicha to be prepared is hard work, for every fiestero wants to prepare the most chicha, since a festival is good only if one can be drunk for a long time.

On the principal festive day of the three annual festivals, which are essentially the same in arrangement, the women start to prepare the feast very early in the festival house. The men also arrive, chicha is drunk heartily, and the musicians start play- [541] ing early in the morning. No longer entirely sober, everybody assembles for the Mass, which is accompanied by the setting off of fireworks by those who have remained in front of the church door. [788] Then, led by the music, played incessantly, a procession follows, a parade around the church with the flower-decorated image of the Lord and those of the saints.

[431] In the afternoon, the fiesteros, along with the cabildo and [793] a large number of sightseers, set out for the church, in order to [794] give the priest a present of foodstuffs, meat, bananas, vegetables, and eggs in gratitude for the Mass that was held. After that the two fiesteros, along with their albaceros and the music, walk

/208 cont./

796 through the village and meet in front of the festival house for a
[794] ceremonial salutation. They exchange brandy, chicha, and candles, each giving the other exactly the same thing /209/ that
[537] he himself receives. After they have mutually complimented each
[431] other sufficiently, they turn to the bystanders, make a short speech to the effect that everyone should enjoy himself, and dis-
796 tribute everything to the people standing around. Soon afterward
532 all gather on the plaza in front of the church, where now the "vacaloca" is lighted. This "crazy cow" consists of a number of flexible twigs bent into semicircles and held together on the underside by cross-rods; they are fastened one behind the other, which gives the structure the shape of a half-cylinder. This is covered with a cowhide and forms the body of the crazy cow. On one end is fastened a cow's skull modeled out of bast and newspaper to look as real as possible, and on the other end, a stick wound with agave fiber as a tail. A strong young man takes the frame of the cow on his shoulders and it is then lit at the specially prepared places on horns and tail. While music is played, the young man goes across the square in a zigzag, during which the young people try to tease the cow, while it, in turn, tries to get the bold ones on its horns. The meaning of this game is not clear to the Paez. It looks as though it were a poorly understood imitation of a popular bullfight.

796 Everybody now returns to the festival houses, where the musicians have taken their places on a bench on the narrow end of the festival house. The women squat in one corner in a large
● [273] group with their children. And then begins the feast, at which everyone, men, women, and children, may eat and drink as much as he is able, with the exception of the fiesteros, who have the sole right to pour the chicha and brandy and do not themselves become intoxicated, in order to be able to carry out their duty well. The festival guests do not go home for the duration of the festival, but eat, drink, and sleep in the festival houses, stretched out full length on the floor wherever they happen to be. The festival goes on with more or less intensity -- as far as eating and drinking are concerned -- throughout the entire week; at any rate, no one works, but at most goes from house to house "pasnyándo."

/284 cont./

241 The following ceremony before the first harvest of a newly
756 cleared field should also be understood in the same sense as
783 all the shamanistic séances of the Paez, namely, as a purification
[273] from pest or to ward it off. The owner, taking along coca, chicha,
[276] and brandy, goes to the field with the members of his family and
[824] the teyu. The latter first sprinkles the field with water to which
[782] herbs have been added and then distributes small packets of medicinal herbs to all present. He now takes a sample from each type of produce and makes a bundle out of this, in order to offer it to Thunder. After this gift, the owner harvests a fiber bag full of each type of produce and carries it home. He sets down all the bags beside one another in front of the left side of the entrance, and then the shaman spits his herbs over them, in order to cleanse them of the pest, which, without this ceremony, would otherwise
[782] have been carried into the house. After the products have been cooked, they are given to the shaman, who distributes one product to each of those present and offers the rest as a gift to Thunder, who, in turn, gives everything back to the shaman.

754 A good shaman does not know any herbs or other means to
756 harm people or to kill them. Such acts are the mark of the nyic. According to what we heard, however, the boundary between good and bad shamans is not very sharply drawn; each could also carry out the activity of the other, even though Thunder -- people are convinced -- does not lend his help to a nyic, so that the latter is
578 dependent solely on his bad and wicked agents. /285/ There is a
754 constant struggle between the teyu and the nyic, not openly to be
756 sure, but in secret. The teyu constantly feel pursued by the evil machinations of the nyic, and one who relaxes his attention for only a moment will be killed by them. In this struggle the one who is the stronger magically has prospects of victory; but since the nyic do not openly announce their successes over the good shamans, one can learn only of the victories of the teyu over the evil shamans. Thus a shaman from Santa Rosa relates that in his youth he was very treacherous and underhanded and was already familiar with many agents. One day a nyic, who had already

/289 cont./

534 by cuts with a machete (Ill. 203 /see p. 290/). In spite of the
322 relatively correspondent holes, each flute has a slightly different tone caused by the varying diameter of the tube.

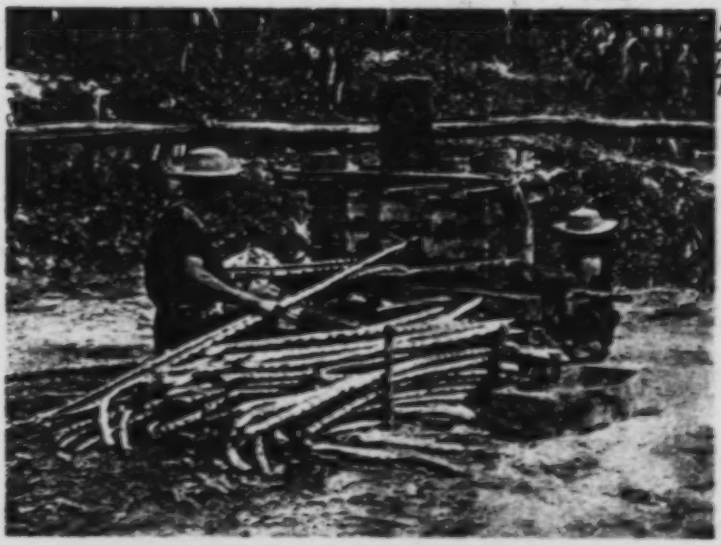
533 According to the investigation kindly undertaken by my
534 brother Wilfried on the sample flute of Vicente Puche that I acquired, it is tuned between C and C-sharp. Its six finger-holes produce a nonsemitonic seven-tone scale. All the tone steps, however, are somewhat inexact, that is, not exactly a whole tone-step apart. This is particularly noticeable from the third to the fourth tone where we perceptibly have less than a major second, but considerably more than a half step. This is noteworthy because in our diatonic major scale there is also a definite half-step between these two tones.

The blowing is on the right or left side. The extended fingers, work-worn by the heavy field work, cover the finger holes with the first or second joint.

534 The value of the flute is not very high. On festive days
[578] people are in the habit of becoming intoxicated in the festival
[796] houses and in the subsequent brawls the flutes are used as striking
[273] instruments and thus broken.

/290/ Every music group has at least one small cylindrical drum (ká·ka) or a bass drum (kut), both of which are covered with skin on two sides and are wider than high in their dimensions.
[177] Drum and bass drum in this form are probably borrowed and were
[194] taken over throughout South America from former Negro slaves. Their manufacture among the Paez is specialist's work. At
[463] present Vicente Puche makes the flutes as well as the drums. In former times, however, there was a special expert who made only
[461] drums and bass drums. The work time for their manufacture amounts to 10 to 14 days, since one day is allowed for each operation (cutting wood, drying it, for the various processes in treating
[824] the skins, etc.). The cylindrical body of the drum is made from
[237] the wood of the utsé tree. The two drum-skins (katc) are made of calfskin. They are stretched with cords made of agave fiber, which run in a zigzag from one stretcher to the other over the body of the drum. They are tightened by a continuous loop that encircles two strands of the stretching cords at a time and at the same time

1: Nachtigall--278 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15



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Ill. 175. Sugar mill in operation.

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Ill. 176. Distillation apparatus.

1: Nachtigall--283 E-5 (1952-1953) 1955 SC15 Paez SC15

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Ill. 185. Rolling out a "clay sausage."

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Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics.

/CXXII cont./

Ill. 184. Potter smoothing out the seams of the pot. In order to be able to turn it more easily, he has set it on a shallow clay bowl.

Plate XCVI

Ill. 185. Potter rolling out a "clay sausage." The pots are made with the spiral coil technique.

Ill. 186. Types of Paez ceramics. There are spherical pots and shallow bowls without a standing surface. The large pot is used for making chicha, the two smaller ones for cooking, the bowl for roasting coca leaves.

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Plate XCVII

Ill. 187. Weaver making the women's colored belt. The many cross-sticks serve for stretching the warp threads.

Ill. 188. Weaving the ornamental warp. Visible above the sword is a shed rod which holds up the red warp threads not needed at the moment for the pattern.

Ill. 189 and 190. Patterns of the women's colored belts.

Plate XCVIII

Ill. 191. Bamboo suspension bridge over the Rio Paez at Avirama.

Ill. 192. Bamboo suspension bridge at Belalcázar.

Ill. 193. Shore anchoring of the suspension bridge of Balalcázar.

Ill. 194. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokiyó at Calderas, at the time of construction.

Plate IC

Ill. 195. Timber bridge across the Rio Kokíyó at Calderas, with the protective roof characteristic of this type of bridge.

2: Pittier de Fábrega E-4, 5 (1906) 1907
SC15 Paez SC15

FOOD. CULTIVATED AND OTHER USEFUL PLANTS

The principal food of the Paez Indians is maize, or Indian corn, of which they grow several varieties, belonging to three distinct types, namely, a sweet corn (*tšulpi*), a soft corn (*kapio*), and the common flint corn. The words *tšulpi* and *kapio* belong to the Kitšua language, a fact that points to the southern origin of these varieties. Judging from tradition, as well as from the varietal names used elsewhere in the Cauca valley, the flint corn that is grown all over the country may possibly be of northern origin. The Paez language has only one word to designate all varieties of corn, and it is interesting to note that the one now in use (*kutš* or *kukš*) is quite distinct from that employed in Castillo's time (*kokavi*). It is not unlikely that the present name was introduced by some of the tribes subsequently incorporated with the Paez.

The *tšulpi*, or sweet corn, is usually eaten roasted or boiled on the cob. Of soft corn, or *kapio*, they make a kind of dough called *χšiontš*, which is the base of several culinary preparations, among them the tortilla (*kuaits*). *Kaš* is a gruel made of black corn; *muntši*, or *mutši* (the Kitšua *mote*), is prepared by shelling the kernels without disintegrating them. Last, but not least, large quantities of the grain are used in the preparation of chicha (*kcka*).

Beans are generally cultivated along with maize. I noticed two varieties — *us kutš*, black beans, and *us kc*, red beans. The *asgual*, cited by Castillo as special to the village of Suin, are the seeds of the *Erythrina edulis* Triana, which I collected under the name of *us ual*; they are large, and when boiled taste almost exactly like the common horse-bean (*Faba vulgaris*).

Of scarcely less value as a food-staple are the several varieties of squashes, so generally cultivated and eaten as to have caused Castillo to express the opinion that "most of the Indians would perish should these fail in the province." The larger variety, *ape-tots* (*Cucurbita maxima?*), is less common, and may have been introduced, although it already existed in Tierra Adentro in Castillo's time; *ape*, the zapallo or pumpkin (*Cucurbita pepo*), is perhaps indigenous to the region, since the last native name,

/286 cont./

291 the waist, and over it a rebozo or shawl of foreign make; they wear hats of masculine manufacture. They carry a thin stick
283 one meter long more or less, called kasguat, held under the left armpit, and at its upper end there is a bundle of wool to be spun, a task which they do at any time, while walking or sitting in the house, regardless of whether a child is resting on their backs or, when they are walking along the road, a heavy
301 load. Only the women wear ornaments consisting of multicolored necklaces, earrings, and sometimes rings.

293 Both men and women usually carry three woolen pouches,
415 aside from others of fique, a very small one for money, a larger one for mambe /coca and lime for chewing/, and the third, which is the largest of all and holds the other two, is used to carry palm leaves or the plaited work made with them for the men, and other things for the women.

276 Coca.--All the Paez are "mambe chewers," men, women,
[461] and children, regarding coca as an article that gives strength,
[261] frees one from laziness, and mitigates hunger. Without it, of
[273] course, they will not work. Coca and chicha, fermented sugar-
[262] cane juice, play the role of real foods, given their starchy and scant diet.

631 Parcialidades and cabildos.--Politically, the Indians are
624 organized into parcialidades, each headed by a cabildo made up of a gobernador and substitute, a major alcalde and another minor one, two alguaciles, three fiscales, a comisario, a capitán, and a síndico elected each year and put in office by the respective alcaldías of the municipio, except for the last two, who are named for life and put in office by the /287/ Church. Their functions are administrative and police work, but in reality they exercise functions of social, legal, and religious control.

631 The parcialidades are bounded by the craggy peaks and the deep, rugged beds of the streams and rivers in such a way that each one circumscribes specific kinds of geography, and even of

/186 cont./

346 796 There are four other small rooms, five meters /187/ long by three meters wide. Two of them are independent of each other, with their respective doors opening into the sala; one serves as a kitchen and the other to roast the maize griddle-cakes. At the other end of the house are the two other rooms, connected with each other by one door and with the sala by another. The workers sleep in one, and in the other are the troughs of chicha, the bottles of aguardiente, and the laurel candles.

342 249 The third type of dwelling, very scarce in Calderas, has a square floor plan. It has the sala, two kitchens, and the du yate léchukue. Whatever type of dwelling a Paez family may own, they all have as an indispensable accessory the sugar mill, [262] either inside the house or outside it. Actually, if it is kept in [273] mind that the basic sustenance of the natives is provided by [276] maize, cabbage, chicha, and coca, this instrument is indispensable.

342 312 In addition, each house is supplied with water, taken from springs, streams, or falls, through the extremely skillful construction of ditches which skirt the valleys, hills, and slopes. Their lands have abundant water. They are not familiar with artesian wells.

342 177 249 In a way, the enormous salas in the houses of Calderas represent the ramadas which are found among the whites, mestizos, and acculturated Indians of San Andrés; they are built independently of the dwellings, with a sugar mill and an oven to boil down the cane juice and make panela. In this parcialidad, the panela industry is quite well developed. In Calderas it does not exist.

584 583 [183] Among the Paez, land, marriage, family, and house form a close and indissoluble unit. It lends warmth and meaning to a number of emotional, sentimental, and sociological complexes. This begins when the pubescent boy feels the need for a partner who will help him in his work and assuage to some extent the rigors of solitude. The love awakened by a dark, shapely maiden impels him to ask her parents for her. "Give my your daughter. I am alone and need help in my work."

/192 cont./

796 Then the new fiesteros look for assistants, called albaceros and mayordomos. At the close of the fiesta, accompanied by the cabildo and the old fiesteros, they go to the priest to be put on record and announced as the fiesteros for the following year. Each receives a church banner, and then in procession they walk round the church and proceed at once to one of the houses of the pueblo, previously requested from its owner, amidst the bursting of firecrackers and the strains of music. [273] There, chicha and aguardiente will be served to the albacero, mayordomos, and the others present, even before they have finished drinking the liquor of the old fiestero. They will also be given a meal, for which a bull has been slaughtered.

794 The months go by. The need for money to cover the costs 796 is pressing. Fiesteros and albaceros, with their wives and sometimes also with a few friends, leave their land and, keeping to themselves, set out for Inzá, La Plata, or Popayán to sign up as laborers on haciendas which they know personally or through [465] trustworthy references. Their daily pay will be one peso and food. Not even coca /193/ /illustration appears here/ is part of their ration. Husband and wife do the same work and earn the same pay.

After two months they return once more to their land, carrying in their pouches gunpowder, wicks, and salt. Some- [579] times, a machete fastened to the belt. The fiestero bears the brunt of the expense: camarico (1) /footnote 1 is missing; the camarico is the gift customarily given to a guest/ for the priest and the latter's fees; candles for the altar; gunpowder for the Mass and the social functions; the cleaning of the church; "care" for the albacero and hospitality to visitors for the period of three weeks. The albacero is in charge of the celebration of vespers: lights for the church, the vacaloca /"crazy cow," a feature of the fiesta/, fireworks, and gunpowder.

The mayordomos contribute money (one peso) for the priest's fees and candles to light the church.

[p. 22 skipped in paginating - Analyst]

/194 cont./

796 The albacero and fiestero with their respective wives do not work; their task is to look after the people.

796 554 Every religious fiesta has a chief fiestero and a secondary one, with their respective retinues of albaceros, mayordomos, and laborers. There is no difference of rank between the two. Both spend the same amount of money and perform the same tasks. Only the chief one performs them first; he thus has [578] primacy. Nevertheless, a certain rivalry seems to exist between the two. According to the extravagance and hospitality, there are comments as to whether the fiesta of one was better than that of the other. Prestige is also involved here. Thus, of the two fiesteros who gave the fiesta of San Juan this current year, that of the second one was said to be better, since he did not get drunk, attended all the religious ceremonies, and [273] looked after people very well. Only the last of these remarks is valid, because the abundance of food, chicha, and aguardiente was fundamental; continuous drunkenness is the mark of a good fiesta. On the other hand, he knew how to look after the people because he had already been fiestero at another time.

796 Three weeks before the festive day activity begins in the households of the fiesteros: milling the sugar cane, the distillation of the aguardiente, entertainment of visitors, and the making of candles and firecrackers.

Two weeks before the Mass, the fiesteros, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, go to take over the pueblo house, with their wives, cooks, chicha-makers, and food distributors.

All the public entertaining will be done in the spacious sala. The church banner will wave in front of the house.

4:Bernal Villa--24 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

VII

The Milling, the Chicha and the Chicha-makers

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It remains to be said that the fiesta begins with the milling. Although it is common to use a horse to operate the sugar mill, it is more usual at fiesta time to move it with human arms, masculine or feminine. It makes no difference. The two laborers for the milling squat on either side of the sugar mill, and one hands over the cane while the other receives the bagasse, which is piled up at one side to be handed back again; this is done up to 12 times in order to extract as much juice as possible. The millers do their work in silence when they are not drunk; while they do it with diligence, there is relaxation, laughter, shouts, and imprecations when they are under the influence of alcohol.

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The juice is gathered in troughs, or less frequently in calabashes and pots; it is heated to near the boiling point and then emptied into the troughs, in which, inasmuch as they are well "cured," fermentation is rapid. The troughs are made of huge tree trunks that reach up to one meter and 50 centimeters in thickness and four or five meters in length. As they are depleted through consumption, they are refilled with fresh cane juice. The troughs are covered with small mats made exclusively for the purpose. On the following day it is bubbly, yellowish, with a pungent, sweetish flavor. It is the beka pes (strong chicha) of the natives, who drink it with relish and delight. Five gourdfuls of this liquor are sufficient to make them drunk. Elsewhere called guarapo, while the Paez call it chicha, it is of great importance in their social life and diet. With its help the religious fiestas gain meaning, the mingas are carried out, baptisms and weddings are made more pleasant, and visitors are entertained.

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Work without chicha is inconceivable, and while they work they get no food whatever; they merely drink chicha and chew

/195 cont./

coca. Chicha thus provides the calories for work, while coca dulls the feeling of hunger. The consumption of chicha is general among men and women, old people and children. There is no household without chicha for any length of time. And during the short lapses when it runs low, they buy it or visit the households that have some. Among friends it is not sold, but given as regalement: /196/ "talking, laughing, regaling," as the Indians accurately describe the situation.

Milling for the fiestas takes place daily and is in direct proportion to the number of visitors. Milling for the mingas lasts two days, one week for baptisms, and up to a month for weddings.

The largest containers for chicha are the troughs, but use is also made of pitchers and large earthenware pots buried in the ground up to their rims.

The chicha-makers are the absolute masters of the troughs while they are fulfilling their function. They distribute the chicha, and even the fiestero himself must ask them for the amount desired. No one takes chicha without their consent. Furthermore, they accept the gifts which the visitors give to the fiestero. The latter merely voices his thanks. Although they keep taking chicha, they do not get drunk, so as to perform their task properly. They will have their day when they can do so.

VIII

Sugar-cane Aguardiente

At fiesta time, aguardiente is distilled every two or three days. The distillation is quite easy. The still is prepared in the following way:

A good-sized earthenware pot, 50 to 60 centimeters high and 25 to 30 centimeters in diameter, is filled with guarapo

/196 cont./

273 415 fermented for two days, mixed with anise, dill, cloves, cinnamon, anisillo, and bitopiskue. Sometimes verbena is also added. It rests on three stones which make up the hearth. Over the edges of this pot, and with the interstices filled with a paste of ashes to avoid any loss of steam, is put another pot of regular size: 30 centimeters high and 20 centimeters in diameter. Inside this one is put an ovoid wooden bowl, grooved, with a handle likewise grooved, which is connected to a reed tube that runs through the pot at mid-height, and through which the aguardiente runs into the containers (liters /litros/ and bottles). The base of this pot is pierced to permit the guarapo steam to go through. Above this pot is placed a copper pan about 15 centimeters high and 30 centimeters in diameter; the junctures are covered with a paste of ashes. On this pan there falls a continuous jet of cold water brought from the outside through a bamboo channel; the surplus comes out through a /197/ /illustration appears here/ reed tube set in an opening near the rim. When this fall of water is not feasible, the women undertake to change constantly the warm water for cold.

Stills of this kind distill approximately 15 liters.

The amounts of the ingredients are as follows:

Guarapo, two-thirds of the container.

Anise, three eggs /a measure; see footnote 1, p. 9/ (from Silvia or Neiva).

Dill, approximately 1 pound.

Anisillo (an aromatic herb), one egg.

Bitopiskue (a pungent herb), approximately half a pound.

Cloves, ten centavos (one ounce).

/198/ Cinnamon, ten centavos (one ounce).

273 784 The distillation has nothing mysterious about it, although it does have its precautions. Anyone can be present, but no one can say "venda" /bandage/, because the distillation would not produce anything. If someone goes out, he must do so in silence, but preferably he should not go out, because he will

4:Bernal Villa--27 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/198 cont./

●273 take with him the "heart" of the aguardiente, thus reducing the
784 quantity and detracting from its quality, for it will be "cold

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273 and tasteless."
[784]

The distillation is done on any day and at any hour; the tax collectors do not go this far; control of this kind has never been permitted, and anyone who dared to do it would risk his [186] life. Children drink this liquor from the age of three. Abstainers are inconceivable; "only Protestants do not drink," they conclude.

4:Bernal Villa--31 E-5 (1952-1953) 1953 SC15 Paez SC15

/200 cont./

XI

Gourd Vessels and Etiquette

415 554 273 There are three types of gourd vessels in which chicha is distributed and whose traditional order of use reflects hierarchy, majority, and high status; some gourd vessels are used for all those present, of both sexes and all ages; others, only for a specific class of people.

[192] The first type is small with an ovoid opening, made of half a gourd. In the Paez dialect it is called shup /201/ /illustration appears here/ shachi. All visitors, without distinction as to sex, age, or status, are presented with two matés of this type: the first one contains "strong water" to quench thirst, while the second contains chicha, the authentic strong chicha.

The second type of container is the shachi pitán (gourd-vessel capitan), of greater capacity than the first, ovoid in shape, and open at one end. The most respected persons of both sexes, adults and elders, are given chicha in these gourd vessels, /202/ after taking it from the shup shachi. They indicate a certain deference on the part of the host, and by the same token he wishes them to get drunk. Those who are favored with these gourds offer them to all present, who take them, taste the contents, and return them to the hands of the owner. The shachi pitán has gone from mouth to mouth, but the contents remain practically untouched; the owner is to drink it.

The laborers and mayordomos who are in his service, the albacero, the síndico /trustee/, and the highly respected elders, after having received chicha in the shup shachi and in the shachi pitán, receive a larger gourd vessel in which there is a tiny one (shachi léchukue), which is called suilté. The presentation of this has an etiquette of its own. The host comes out with the suilté in his hands, fills the shachi léchukue with

/202 cont./

415 chicha, and hands it to a person favored and respected by him;
554 the latter takes it, drinks from it, and returns the small gourd;
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415 then he is given the suilté. In turn, he fills the small gourd and
554 gives it to the man who presented it to him. Then he distributes
273 the chicha among all those present, beginning with the adults,

/202 cont./
415 men first and then women, and ending with the children of both
554 sexes. No one is left without a share.
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XII

The Cleaning of the Church

346 The so-called church of Calderas, a masonry structure, is a dilapidated old building, long and tall, with a two-slope thatched roof and a hemispherical bell tower supported by four beams set into the ridgepiece. Only the front of four columns with cornices and semicircular arches which form an antechamber lends the whole a certain charm.

346 What is called the cleaning of the church is the removal
794 of a few weeds that grow in the pavement in front of it and
796 clearing a line that encircles a small plaza. The task is minimal, but it is always performed. The act is symbolic more than anything else; what matters is the meeting of the fiesteros with their respective albaceros and laborers; an occasion for taking care of the albacero, an opportunity for merriment, talk, jokes, and even games.

Some 12 days before the fiesta and on a Thursday, accompanied by the cabildo, music, and firecrackers, the fiestero leaves his house and goes to occupy one in the pueblo. He takes /203/ along the bull that will be sacrificed on the following day. Two days later, that is to say, on Monday, the cleaning of the church is carried out. On rare occasions
[202] it is done on a Wednesday. The ringing of bells announces the invitation and later tells the people that the cleaning is over, whereupon they drink the two calabashes of chicha which each fiestero has brought; the firecrackers are set off; "the albacero has earned a meal," they say, and deserves the honors of the table. The fiestero will take care of him with

/208 cont./

231 After skinning it, they quarter it following a definite
796 sequence: the lower part of the hind legs (chinda), the lower
192 part of the front legs (kuse), the upper part of the hind legs (himbé), the upper part of the front legs (pala), the tail (mens), the flesh of the neck (chikichichi), the fat (sepo), upper intestine (chunchullo), lower intestine (meto), stomach (tuchi), /209/ trachea (pechita), lungs (mechto), heart (ús), liver
[827] (mechi), the gall (muahi), pancreas (shape)... They are familiar with most of the organs and their names, but not with their specific physiology.

262 Some of the pieces of meat go directly into the pan of
796 "mute," which is boiling and which the workers will eat for
252 lunch; others, to the barbecue where they will get the smoke from the kitchen.

Inside the house, in the fiuhne wala, the women grind shelled maize on two metates to make maize griddlecakes. With maize flour and water they make a dough which various women shape with their hands into circular form. In a separate kitchen, two women and two men are busy roasting them. First they let them harden on a piece of broken earthenware and then complete the cooking in the embers of the hearth. An elderly man gathers those that are cooked into a bag. Another one occupies himself with singing religious songs and praying. The maize griddlecakes are used to take care of the albacero on the following day.

796 This work is performed enthusiastically by the women.
[462] --The days of the fiesta are for talking, says one woman.
[829] --One can live through life only by getting drunk, says
[273] another.

/211 cont./

796 the vacaloca /"crazy cow"/ is fashioned. From the angles of
532a rectangle made of four rods tied with lianas, flexible rods are attached in a semicircle; over these is hung the hide of a cow; the skull of a cow, with its horns, is attached to the front part; the facial bones are covered with newspaper on which the cow's eyes, nose, and mouth are drawn with charcoal; the horns are wrapped in cloth soaked in laurel wax; at the hind part, a bunch of defibered cabuya forms the tail. In addition, with the same waxed cloth, three /212/ torches and one large match in the shape of a cross are made, exclusively for illumination.

On leaving the prayer session, a strong, husky youth puts the crude vacaloca on his shoulders, the waxed horns and the torches previously seized by other youths are set afire, the music sounds, the firecrackers are picked up, and the game begins. The young men attempt to set the tail on fire, while the vacaloca tries to pursue them and butt them with its burning horns. The clamor and mad frenzy begin. Everyone runs, everyone defies the charges of the symbolic animal. Soon the vacaloca takes a false step and falls with a crash, causing general hilarity. The fiestero and albacero, the musicians, the participants in the game, and the others present begin to move toward the house of the albacero. There they stop the game when the fuel of the torches is exhausted and the players are overcome by fatigue.

796 Inside the dwelling, in the fiuhne wala, the musicians in one corner, the women seated on the ground, the men on the pangos, their faces made golden by the rays from the torches, wait for the distribution of the calabashes of chicha and the liters of aguardiente with which the albacero is paying attention
[273] to the fiestero. In the middle of the sala and next to one of the pangos there is a crude table, blackened by smoke, dirt, and time, with two lighted candles at the ends of it; three calabashes of chicha set on sugar-cane bagasse, two bottles of aguardiente next to the end gourds, and next to the center

/212 cont./

796 one a liter of aguardiente. The fiestero sits at the center of
273 the table, his wife sits on his right and the síndico on his left.
The albacero approaches, takes the liter in his hands, measures out a cup, and offers it to the fiestero. The latter accepts it, drinks, and returns it. From the hands of the albacero he receives the cup and the liter. The proceeds in the same fashion with the calabash inside of which is the shachi léchukue. In the same manner he offers the other bottles and gourds to
[431] the wife of the fiestero and to the síndico. The distribution begins, for which the fiestero, fiestera, and the síndico call on three men to take charge of distributing the generous gift. The aguardiente is distributed by its owners themselves, who in each cup put small pieces of cake. The clamor increases in direct proportion to the consumption. Everyone drinks
796 alike: men, women, and children. This is the time for off-
522 color, rich, and abundant joking. The hour when fantasy
273 shines and takes wings. There is practically only one theme,
831 sex in all its forms and manifestations: desires, /213/ feats, wooing, pregnancy, childbirth, genitalia, and even sham coitus in public. Any allusion to sex causes hilarity; many aspects of life, attitudes, and work are associated with sex.

796 At midnight the bottles and calabashes are empty. The
[273] music has been continuous, the drunkenness has increased ... But it is not yet over. At the house of the fiestero they are awaited with another gift.

The fiestero and the albacero dance with each other's wives. When the dance is over, everyone goes out and vanishes in the darkness of the night on paths that cannot be seen, only divined. The sound of the bass drum indicates that the people, the nasa wala, are on their way to the house of the fiestero.

There they will find the pale yellowish light, the table next to a pango and toward the center of the fiuhne wala, with its two lighted candles, its calabashes of chicha, and its bottles of aguardiente. This time it is the albacero who will

/226 cont./

When the signs occur at the vertex (crown), the sorcerer is about to send the pest, and if they go from the vertex to the left hand, the person is under a spell.

If the signs occur in the gluteal muscles, an animal belonging to the person has died and the vultures are eating it.

In this way, the curers can know the nature of the illness /227/ and the type of remedies required. To determine the spell and the sorcerer responsible.

To divine whether a stolen object can be recovered or not, and who the thieves are. To learn whether a patient will improve or die. To detect the presence of the Ghost, Rainbow, and Echi. To know in advance about the visits of good or bad persons,

The act of perceiving the signs is called to divine or "to think." Every patient must always bring tobacco, aguardiente and coca. The aguardiente is used to call Thunder, Ghost and Echi and to satisfy them. The chewed coca and tobacco serve to make the signs circulate.

Divination sites. The té eu has a special divination site called Kachí. In it he practices the signs and perceives them when he has a patient to cure. If the patient is not in serious condition and comes in person to the house of the curer, then he can divine on its ground, even though there is the obstacle of the presence there of ají and salt, articles that Thunder does not like. The treatment, that is to say, the perception of signs and the corresponding cleansing, is carried out at night, at two or three in the morning.

If the patient is in very serious condition, the té eu must go to a site where he will not be disturbed by the shouting of people, the barking of dogs, or the noises of animals. A site almost completely removed from human haunts, such as a bog or a lagoon. He takes with him two or three hairs taken from the crown of each member of the family present, with which he makes a ball that he places amidst the shu /Sphagnum/.

/227 cont./

755 He remains at the site for about an hour. When the signs give
*756 hope, he leaves the hair and returns to the patient's house.

In treatments of this type, the curer requires as "provisions" a pig, a sheep, and chicha.

*755 Divining the illness. The curer demands from his clients
756 two eggs (3) of coca, two cigars, and half a liter of aguardiente.
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[804]

3. One egg of coca is equivalent to the weight of a hen's egg.

He gathers the coca into a medium-sized pouch with great scrupulousness, for he does not allow a single leaf to be lost. He transfers the aguardiente to a bottle of his own and puts it in the same pouch with the coca, likewise the cigars. The divination is performed under the eaves of his house at 8:00 P.M.

/228/ He places the patient on his right, seated on a pango pil (bench); the pouches of remedies are placed on his left, along with the pouch containing the coca and aguardiente received from the patient.

*755 He begins by making two bundles of remedies with yacuma
756 blanca, ul hiñ, hundayuskei, bitopiskue, and chandur de castilla (4). Each remedy is extracted patiently from his pouch,

4. Cf. below, "Remedies" /see pp. 22ff./.

which contains all the remedies needed for his treatments, but not in any specific order. He does not show anxiety or haste; he observes great moderation. When he takes out the remedy, before placing it on the maize husk that will serve as wrapping for the bundle, he quickly passes it around his body, beginning at the right foot, going up this side to the crown of the head, and ending on the left side, in order to stimulate the blood
[827] so that the signs will circulate. As soon as he has finished passing it, the signs may go from the right calf upward.

/298 cont./

241 in some cases, fruit trees, and after this, wheat. In San Andrés,
134 especially in the vegas, maize, plantains, frijoles, arracacha, manioc, sugar cane, and coffee are planted. Thus, there is not proper utilization of the soil or protection of it, aside from the several years of rest. They are not familiar with fertilizers, the rotation of crops, or irrigation systems.

241 It is interesting to note that the families of San Andrés,
423 Calderas, Lame, and Mosoco generally have lands in the low places along the rivers and streams and in the high places where arboreal vegetation abounds, which they call the "montaña." In this way, they can cultivate cold and temperate zone plants (Calderas, San Andrés, Lame) or take advantage of the annual seasonal cycle in the high parts of the Cordillera (Mosoco).

244 A principal dwelling is erected on one of the fincas, while
342 on the others ranchos where the families live during the months of harvest are built. It is at the principal dwelling where the garden is made with plantains, sugar cane, onions, coriander, coca, cabbage (San Andrés, Santa Rosa, Calderas, Togoima), or with cabbage, garlic, onions, yuca de pipchao /yams/, peaches, and apples (Lame, Mosoco, Vitoncó). Peppers are cultivated in the gardens. This principal dwelling forms what in our culture is called hogar /hearth, home/. It is here that the fire is always maintained, that the ears of maize, bundles of wheat, bags of frijoles, tools, troughs, cooking utensils, and sugar mills are kept, where the chickens, guinea pigs, pigs, and turkeys live.

249 Industrial crops practically do not exist. There are no
[248] tobacco or cotton plantations. Sugar-cane plantings are not
[273] extensive among the natives. They are used solely for pro-
[778] ducing guarapo, which has almost completely replaced the maize chicha. Only the whites and a few mestizos have extensive sugar-cane fields for producing panela.

248 Figue thrives in Tierradentro. But it is in Vitoncó and Lame that there are numerous plantings of cabuya of very good quality in terms of the size and quantity of the fiber, planted on the boundaries of the properties. This wealth is not utilized as much as it should be. The natives merely make pouches and lassos for internal consumption.

/310 cont./

243 As may be noted, the magical practices of the tê eu are
756 absent, although there still exists that of the eating, which in
789 other parcialidades complements his practices.

249 The cultivation of sugar cane is quite widespread in the
● 273 temperate thermal level, although the plantings are not extensive and are not pursued for commercial purposes; they serve only for obtaining guarapo (fermented cane juice) for individual and collective labor and for social affairs. Guarapo is an essential part of the domestic economy, in the same manner
249 as coca. It is not produced for public pay. Each house has its
257 sugar mill, either outside or in its interior, but there are no ovens or other accessories for producing panela. The latter industry belongs exclusively to the white or mestizo people.

249 The cultivation of the cane requires three weedings before the first cutting. Three cuttings with good results are generally obtained from each planting.

245 The cultivation of coffee is also very widespread. Its expansion is of recent date, but it already has strong and universal acceptance, like cane and plantains. The method of cultivation suffers from certain deficiencies: the shade is insufficient and inadequate; there is no pruning; the care is not very satis-
[433] factory; many do not have pulping machines. The coffee
245 plantings produce several arrobas per year. The monetary in-
434 come of the natives in the temperate zone is provided basically by
[439] coffee. They sell it to steady and familiar customers for prices
[452] that are usually low. The coffee plantings secure credit for the natives; they often collect money or merchandise against a future
245 harvest. Coffee has permitted them /311/ to acquire dishes, to
434 modify their clothing, to enrich their agricultural equipment,
177 to buy every once in a while the drugs of the "whites." At harvest time they eat meat regularly, and they are also able to pay wages for the improvement of their fincas. But, above all,
[273] it opens the doors of the liquor stores to them. They consume considerable amounts of alcoholic beverages. They have not yet learned to make good use of their monetary income.

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Fam.	Coca				Frijoles			
	A	C	V	%	A	C	V	%
1.*	4	4	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
2.	...	...	...	.....	5	4	1	20,0
3.	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
4.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
5.	...	...	...	(0)	1	1	...	.....
6.	...	...	...	(0)	3	3	...	.....
7.	...	...	...	(0)	1	1	...	.....
8.	...	...	...	(0)	8	8	...	.....
9.	...	...	...	(0)	20	10	20	50,0
10.*	...	...	...	(0)	...	...	...	.....
11.	...	...	...	(0)	...	...	...	.....
12.	...	...	...	.....	3	3	...	.....
13.	6	2	4	66,6	5	1	4	80,0
14.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....
15.*	...	...	...	.....	...	...	...	.....

/A = arrobas produced; C = arrobas consumed; V = arrobas sold; % = percentage sold. The commas in the figures should be read as points in the translation to English./

8. Owns plantings of coca.

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From the above table we can make the following deductions:

[245] 1. The coffee production is wholly intended for sale.
[434] It thus constitutes the principal source of monetary income
[439] for the natives and, of course, for the "whites."

2. Maize, frijoles, sugar cane, and coca are intended almost exclusively for internal consumption. The production of panela indicated in the table refers to the whites and mestizos.

[262] 3. The food base of San Andrés is provided by maize,
[276] plantains, manioc, and arracacha. At the time of the coffee
[273] harvest, meat is consumed. Coca and guarapo indispensably complement this dietary regimen.

/329 cont./

476 241 The master of the minga kills a head of cattle or, more commonly, a pig. He prepares a trough of chicha (fermented sugar-cane juice), several bottles of aguardiente, an arroba of mote (maize skinned with ashes), and procures a few pounds of coca. He invites the men of his choice. At dawn on the day agreed upon for the job, all those invited, with their tools on their shoulders, proceed with shouts to the house of the minguero. There they are given one egg (25) of coca, chicha, and a dish of

25. Measure of weight equivalent to a hen's egg.

476 461 241 mote with meat. At 8:00 A.M. they are all at work. Up to 30 laborers attend. They take along to the place of the work calabashes of chicha to drink during the rest periods, which correspond exactly to the "botada de la mambeada" /taking the chew of coca/. In the course of the day they have three mambeadas, and thus three rest periods. They more or less coincide with 10:00 A.M., 12:00 noon, and 2:00 P.M. During these rest periods they sit, talk, laugh, drink /330/ chicha, and soon go back to the work enthusiastically. They do it steadily and diligently.

476 241 No one talks then. At 4:00 P.M. they leave work and go to the house of the minguero, where their respective wives are already. Everyone receives chicha and aguardiente. Then the food, consisting of a large wooden platter full of mote, stew /revuelto/ with frijoles, arracacha, plantains, and three pieces of meat. Since they cannot eat all this, they put it in fique knapsacks to [782] take it to their respective homes. After eating, they pray, always invoking the deceased relatives of the minguero, whether [273] [535] they be ancestors, collaterals, or descendants. Then, they receive new gourds of chicha until they are drunk. Very often [578] they dance. There is no lack of fighting on these occasions.

476 435 According to an informant from Calderas, one minga with 15 laborers costs the following:

/331 cont./

461 insalivation, which disturbs the normal consumption of coca.
476 They worked steadily until 10:00 A.M., when they took a short rest. Then they went on working until 1:00 P.M., when they were served "refreshments," consisting of a cup of coffee and two large maize griddlecakes /arepas/ seasoned with salt and two eggs, which had been toasted on a piece of earthenware and finished by roasting in the hot ashes of the hearth. They went on working until 3:30 P.M. and then went to the house of the minguero. The reward usually consists of the following:
476 Two bowls of chicha; then a large platter with mote, stew
465 with potatoes or ullucos. They eat what they can and put the rest in an aluminum pan which they brought for this purpose, or they simply put it in a fique knapsack to take it to their respective homes. After this, they receive still another bowl of mote without meat. Then, once more, two bowls of chicha and, following this, a large pot overflowing with chicha to be distributed among those present. This is done for each of the persons in-
[273] vited. The consumption of chicha is thus abundant. After this they are given aguardiente. Already drunk, they organize a dance. All this, of course, among the natives of means. Among the poor, the mingas are usually made up of relatives, who "conceal the scarcity." No dancing is done.
476 In the mingas of Mosoco, they sacrifice bulls, calves, or pigs, and they always purchase one or two pounds of coffee and two or three arrobas of panela. From their own finca they consume wheat or maize flour, potatoes, ullucos, or broad beans.
[461] Coca has been replaced by "refreshments." During the work there
[276] are periods of rest that /332/ correspond roughly to taking a chew of coca in other parcialidades. The young people of Mosoco do not chew coca, but the old custom still influences the work. On the other hand, it is obvious that a minga in Mosoco is more expensive than paying wages, since various articles are purchased, and, in addition, they sacrifice cows or pigs worth more than 100
[464] pesos. But the mingas are indispensable in Mosoco as a means of obtaining labor which otherwise would be impossible to get. No one signs up for wages, because everyone has his own lands to work.

/333 cont./

bags full of frijoles, which are also suspended from the wall posts. This is also where the grains (lumps) of salt are kept. The amounts kept for the months of scarcity are not sufficient, but there are other comestibles that help them: domestic animals, cabbages, onions, sugar cane, and coca. In Lame and Mosoco they cultivate a plant which they call ijuca de pijao. It is an edible discoria /Dioscorea/. We have also seen that want is avoided by going to work as laborers on the fincas of the "whites."

Meat is also kept on the frame above the hearth. They utilize the smoke to preserve it. Salt is not used for this purpose.

In the parcialidades of Mosoco, Vitoncó, and San José, where large quantities of wheat are planted, one frequently finds under the eaves of thatched houses bundles of wheat that remain hanging for several months. In this way they preserve it from the attacks of small rodents, and the grain is of excellent quality because it dries out thoroughly.

During times of scarcity, the natives do not seek solace in religion. Actually, their defense is in the sale of their own working capacity for a small daily wage, a few eggs of coca, and food. It should be noted that guarapo and coca are splendid sedatives against the pangs of hunger. It is curious that one of the most noted religious fiestas of Calderas is held precisely during a time of scarcity. Large quantities of guarapo are consumed for nearly a month.

Provision of water and firewood

In Tierradentro the rainfall is relatively high. As a result, water abounds in small and /334/ large watercourses. This geographical factor leads the natives to bring the water close to their homes by means of a system of drainage ditches that are true engineering works. The distances that have to be faced or the accidents of the terrain make no difference. When necessary, they use bamboo tubes as artificial channels. This system has been adopted by the "whites" and even by the towns. Since the high parts on both margins of the Paez River are bare of vegetation,

/350 cont./

252 262 244 [796] Cabbages are cultivated in the gardens and are almost never lacking throughout the year; they are eaten daily, chopped into the dish of the day. At religious fiestas it is customary to cook the cabbages "on the bough," that is to say, with their respective stalks, and serve them as a special dish. White cabbage is seldom cultivated and thus its consumption is almost null. The few heads grown in the cold part of San Andrés are intended for sale.

252 262 Plantains are eaten preferably in sancocho, and their consumption is intensive in the temperate climate. They are also eaten roasted, in which case they are preferred with meat or entrails. Potatoes, especially in Mosoco, are eaten with gravy, a favorite dish for entertaining "white" or civilized visitors. This dish is prepared with water, milk, eggs, onions, and meat. The potatoes are peeled and washed well. In Calderas they are also eaten in this fashion, but frijoles are added to them as well.

In general wheat is cultivated to be milled and sold. Sometimes it is eaten in griddlecakes, in which case the dough is prepared with water and panela. They also make soup with wheat flour, without removing the bran, with cabbages, frijoles, and salt.

Sweet potatoes are consumed in small quantities. They are washed, cooked, and eaten without salt and with peppers. They prepare peppers by cooking them in a pot (a bag, said the informant) and adding onions, coriander, and salt. This condiment thickens and keeps for about a month.

Chachafruto is cooked with frijoles or in the soup, but it is also eaten by itself and skinned. It is very tasty.

● 273 [249] /351/ Sugar cane serves solely for extracting the juice and fermenting it. With the guarapo, thirst is quenched, mingas are held, "courtesies" are shown, religious fiestas and social life in general are carried on. From cane juice, duly fermented, alcoholic beverages are also extracted. They make chicha from maize, but this is not prevalent.

/351 cont./

273 The maize is ground, and they cook the flour with plenty of water; this liquid is removed and put in a trough to ferment [272] for several days, adding panela to it. It is said that this chicha is tastier than guarapo, but that it does not inebriate and does not work satisfactorily; it serves only to quench thirst, like the "cola" (carbonated drink) of the "whites."

262 Peaches and apples are eaten in the regions where they are produced, and oranges as well, but in general the consumption of fruit is very low.

252 262 Guinea pigs are eaten when the family wants meat. They kill them by breaking their necks; then they wet them with cold water and put them in the embers of the fire in order to loosen the hide and skin them; they are washed, the entrails are removed, they are washed again, and then they are cooked in the pot of sancocho, mote, "sango," or maize-ball soup; some people eat the entrails, while others do not. The guinea pig is regarded as "tasty."

With chicken special attention is shown to favorite friends and to compadres, and mingas are held. At the fiesta of San Juan in Calderas, it is customary to eat chicken. After being plucked, the entrails are removed, it is washed, and it is cooked in the pot of sancocho or mote. The natives regard the leg as the best piece, and for this reason this is what they present to the elders (compadres, fathers, eldest sons); to the others they give a piece of breast or any other part. The head goes to the owner. The washed and cooked entrails are also distributed among all present. Turkeys and ducks are prepared and consumed in the same manner.

From the pig some organs are eaten roasted: pancreas, kidneys, intestines, and the meat of the backbone; the bacon 262 is kept to flavor food; the rest is eaten boiled. When a pig is killed out of the mere desire to use the meat, portions are distributed to the "elders" of the family (fathers-in-law, fathers, etc.), and the same thing is done when cattle is slaughtered. [237] From them they use the meat, the hide, and the horns for making [534] whistles which are blown when a house is being built in the [342] [334]

/352 cont./

261 The natives lose weight -- says an informant -- because first they eat good and abundant food, and then they do not have [262] enough to eat and, naturally, grow thin. In times of scarcity ("hambruna"), they eat frijol cacha and its tender leaves, in the same way as they eat mejicano leaves; cabbages are gathered leaf by leaf, for at this time of year they are less abundant. When there is nothing more to eat they kill a cow and eat meat; they hunt /353/ wild pigeons or chachalacas, cook them, and [273] drink the broth with salt. They also make chicha, and the old [278] people get drunk every day; the consumption of coca increases: "the people chew and chew so as not to feel too hungry"; the little ones suffer hunger because they do not know how to chew, and they eat mejicano, which does not require the salt that they try to save. Finally, they end up going to the fincas of the "whites" to earn food, coca, and a few centavos.

264 When they do not work, they have one meal at 3:00 P.M. and another at 6:00 P.M. After the first meal they lie down and say, "We are making estancia," that is to say, digesting and [261] getting nourishment. Skinned maize with saffron, chicken, plantains, and peppers gives more "estancia."

261 They barely eat enough unskinned maize, which they cook as mote, but they eat to excess the sancocho of potatoes and frijol bueno because it is so good. No one eats an entire chicken. It is divided. In the former state they would believe that the chicken was stolen. Mejicano makes some people vomit, because they are used to eating meat, and they are the ones who might be thieves.

As a rule, everyone eats only one plate of food; if they eat [258] two, they cannot walk. The curers eat little in order to be able to [787] spend the night in vigil, devoted to their activities; they always [262] eat eggs and they avoid eating peppers in order to be able to [263] feel the "signs" (31).

31. Vernal Villa, S. "Magia y Medicina entre los Paeces /Magic and Medicine among the Paez/," p. 248.

/354 cont./

43 onions, cabbages, barley, and eggs, with which it is not possible to maintain regular trading. The Indians, without exception, buy salt and also acquire hats, shirts, trousers, machetes, shovels, bars, axes, knives, aluminum pots, cups, iron plates, spoons, candles, soap, and aguardiente. Less frequently, large and brilliantly colored kerchiefs for the children, and tweezers /pinzas/ and necklaces for the women.

439 San Andrés is a small native settlement which has been
443 inhabited by the "whites" since the settlement area was estab-
438 lished. It contains three stores that sell some merchandise,
[162] some drugs, beer, aguardiente, and bread. Two of them have gramophones. There are also two other stores, which sell chicha and aguardiente exclusively. On Wednesdays a small market is held. In front of one of the houses, peddlers and traders from other areas display their wares; on the small plaza an awning is raised by an acculturated native woman in order to sell food, and a little farther there is a stand where meat is sold. The market starts moving at dawn. The natives bring small amounts of manioc, arracacha, white cabbage, eggs, coffee, and onions, /355/ which are bought immediately by the "whites." Then the butcher starts selling meat, usually in two-pound portions, which are what the natives buy. The peddlers sell a few trinkets and commodities. At 9:00 A.M. the liquor places
[273] begin to move. At ten in the morning the market is over, and
[578] at midday and in the afternoon only drunken natives are to be
[643] seen. At those times quarrels between them are frequent, and often the natives' aggressiveness is channeled against the "whites," as they assert that they are the true owners of the land and the settlement. The natives have the habit of selling their articles (coffee, eggs) only to persons known to them, even if others can pay them better prices.

On Wednesdays there are also markets in Guasdualejo (Togoima) and Turminá; on Thursdays in Valencia, and on
[491] Saturdays in Inzá and Belalcázar. Those of Belalcázar and Valencia, because they are connected by vehicular road with La Plata (Huila), are better attended and have a larger volume of trade. Large numbers of natives from different parcialidades

?:Hernández de Alba E-5,f(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Pasto SC17

in which a Spaniard held a territory occupied by Indians. The natives, under a chief who was protected by the White authorities and who made contact between the master, or encomendero, and his subjects, had to give a certain number of days' work and a specified tribute in products of the lands, animals, gold, or manufactures. The encomiendas made no effort to Hispanicize the Indians, but continued to loot and massacre them. The Indians, reduced to utter misery, gave up all their artistic and industrial activities, and devoted the greater part of their time to the service of the master or to seeking products to pay the obligatory tribute. To remedy this situation, the Spanish Crown decreed the native "parcialidad," giving surviving groups reservations and prohibiting their employment in transporting men and goods over the highways. This reform was never entirely carried out however, and the Indians, in spite of having their own government, the cabildo or Indian council, continued in servitude or debt slavery.

The native Indian government consisted generally of a governor, a first mayor (alcalde mayor), a second mayor (alcalde segundo), a trustee (síndico or fiscal), and constables (alguaciles), the last a kind of police who transmitted to the people the orders which the Whites gave through the governors or mayors, and who carried out penalties of imprisonment, of placing in stocks, and whipping, which the first Spaniards introduced into the punishment of the natives. At the same time, the Christianization of the Indians began. It succeeded in an imperfect way, however, for the Indian attended Masses, arranged and participated in processions, and did not miss the solemn ceremonies a single Sunday largely because on the same day he brought his own products to the pueblo for sale, bought salt or meat which he needed, and devoted himself to drinking chicha, the traditional drink which he had always taken on religious or social occasions.

The Indians of Nariño, descendants of the *Pasto*, lost their language and many of their customs during the Colonial Period, although they continued to live as natives on their reservations, which daily became smaller because of the encroachments by the neighboring Whites or Mestizos. They became farmers with small landholdings and, occasionally, masons in the cities. The *Moguex* and *Páez*, however, retained their language and the greater part of their customs. Some of them, especially the men who had to deal with the Whites, learned a little Spanish, and they continued throughout the Colonial Period to defend their lands and their traditions. To religious practices introduced by the missionaries, they added such elements as the offer of food to the souls of the dead. They added to the Colonial council (cabildo) the office of captain, an official who, unlike the rest of the council, was not responsible to civilian authorities but had life tenure, sometimes a hereditary position, and more authority within the group.

7:Hernández de Alba E-54(no data) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

241 **Farming.**—The main subsistence of these tribes was and still is based on the cultivation of potatoes, which grow in great quantities in the higher portions of the territory known as Tierradentro, and maize, which is acclimated to the temperate and cold zones. There are three varieties of maize: sweet, soft, and hard. Additional crops were and are yuca or manioc, sweet potatoes, auyamas, ullucos, purutos, frijoles, arracacha, and various other vegetables, and a variety of fruits, including bananas, guayavas, avocados, papayas, [178] pineapples, and passion fruit. Today the *Páez* and *Moguex* are be- [433] ginning to grow wheat, coffee, which is an important item in their [273] economy, and sugarcane, from which is made a coarse sugar and molasses for their fermented drink, guarapo.

241 The men and women of each family generally cultivate the family 476 plot, but for large-scale maize or coffee planting, and for cultivation of the lands of the Church or saint, they work communally, and have meetings called "mingas." Communal work for any particular [782] individual is truly loaned labor, with obligatory recompense. The [273] beneficiary must feed his helpers, generally sacrificing a pig and preparing great quantities of chicha for the libations and nocturnal dances after the work. All adults must participate in working the Church lands but each brings his own food.

241 Implements of cultivation are the digging stick, or macana, for 412 making holes for planting, machetes and axes for destroying vege- 407 tation, and picks and shovels for removing earth, except where re- 492 placed by plows pulled by animal traction.

Domesticated animals.—Domesticated animals include chickens, 231 turkeys, some pigs, dogs, and a few horses and cows. All but the [177] turkeys are of European origin. These animals are rarely sold or killed for food, except for feast days, magical ceremonies, meetings, and visits of relatives, friends or distinguished White men. But [438] sometimes the Indians buy meat in the weekly market and hang it [25] over the hearth, where it is preserved by the smoke.

A custom which has persisted since the beginning of the Colonial 574 Period is that of always giving a guest the "camarico" or "cariño" 431 (affection), a present varying from an egg to a chicken, together with some potatoes, vegetables, and coffee beans.

262 Formerly, meat was obtained from wild rather than domesticated 136 animals—boars (zaínos), guaras, guatines, birds, and guinea pigs, the 231 last being true domesticated animals kept in some numbers in the native houses.

252 **Food preparation.**—Food was cooked in pottery ollas, but metal and [415] enamel ware is now often used. The *Páez* make "mute," a soup of [177] boiled maize, cabbage, squash, and potatoes, and "cocido," a soup

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1946 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguez

of manioc, arracacha, potatoes, beans, sweet maize, and pieces of meat. Meat is sometimes roasted. Maize, the staple, is made into tortillas or soup, or is roasted on the ear. Coffee, much of which is consumed, is roasted in a pottery vessel, ground, and made into an infusion sweetened with coarse sugar.

Kitchen utensils include pottery ollas and vessels, and a footless elliptical stone metate with a central concavity, which lies directly on the floor or is supported on sticks driven in the soil. Meat is kept smoked over the fireplace, and other food is stored on shelves of cane woven into the roof sticks or in hanging hemp bags or gourds. Each gourd has a broad half-gourd suspended above it, open side down, so that a rat descending from above slides off the gourd onto the floor.

The first daily meal is taken at daybreak and consists of "mute." There is no noonday meal, but the evening repast resembles breakfast. Between meals, the Indians chew coca two or three times to sustain their strength and allay hunger. For refreshment and stimulation, they drink guarapo, carrying it to work in gourds.

They cultivate pepper (ají) for a condiment, but purchase salt in the weekly market. The latter is so scarce that instead of mixing it with food they pass a lump around, each person licking it. Before the Conquest, three salt deposits were exploited in this territory, the most important being that near the modern municipality of Belalcázar or Páez. Here the local chief had the salt water boiled down to obtain blocks of salt, which he traded with other tribes for diverse products, or with which he bought help in his wars against the neighboring *Pijao*. Sometimes he permitted other *Páez* to exploit the deposit. Near the present-day Indian center of Ricaurte on the Ullucos River is another salt works that was much used in ancient times, but today is abandoned. Another source of salt was at Huila, where, during the Conquest, the Indians ambushed the Spaniards who sought it, and killed their horses.

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

Each *Páez* and *Moguez* family has its own house, located on a point or flat place in the mountains some distance from its neighbors. The aboriginal house seems to have been rectangular, which still is the only form. It was so lightly constructed of cane and sticks with thatched roof that the Spanish soldiers during the foundation of San Vicente de Páez "carried some Indian houses to their barracks because they were small and suited to it" (Aguado, 1931, vol. 3, book 16, ch. 9). Some distance from the dwelling, they always built a small woman's house. Under Spanish influence, some houses were divided into rooms, and built more solidly of "bahareque" construction, i. e., walls consisting of two faces of sticks with mud and rocks between (pl. 185).

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Moguex

blue, the fruit of the jagua palm (kii), probably *Genipa* sp. A woven fabric is made black by burying it for several days with clay and branches of a *Phyllanthus* which they call "sal."

They make woolen bags by hand, using a kind of crochet technique without needles, and decorate them with rectangular and rhomboid figures. Some bags are made of hemp (fique), in which case the stitches are larger and the article has greater elasticity.

Weapons.—For weapons, the *Páez* used large, thick lances of black or chonta palm, 20 to 25 palms or more long, clubs or macanas, stones thrown with slings, large rocks rolled down from heights, spear throwers like those used by the *Chibcha*, and shields of jaguar, puma, or bear skin. The *Páez* quickly adopted iron arms from the Spaniards, and in the last wars of the Conquest they used steel swords and knives. In a recently discovered grave were copper bells, a golden breastplate, shield bars of tumbaga, a Spanish dagger, and a curved knife of the Arabian or north African type used by the conquistadors.

Today the *Páez* use the club or macana, ordinary guns, machetes, knives, and, for killing birds, the blowgun.

Fire making.—Fires are generally made today with flint and steel, but some Indians use modern matches. For both heating and cooking, the fire is made on the ground in the main house, surrounded by stones which help support the pots. It is covered at night, and almost never goes out.

Illumination is provided not only by the fire but by candles made of wax from the wax palm and from seeds of a wild laurel. The latter are cooked and pressed in a bag so that the wax drips into a half calabash or pot to form a semispherical lump. It is melted to make candles with cotton wicks. The *Páez* use these themselves and also sell them, for they are superior to candles made of animal tallow. A cruder means of lighting consists of transfixing a large number of "higuerilla" seeds on a long, thin bamboo splinter. When the splinter is laid horizontally and lighted, the first seed burns strongly, after which the flame passes from seed to seed, lasting some 15 minutes and throwing a fair light a few feet around.

COMMERCE

Each week a market is held in the municipio or in some of the small native villages (pls. 190, 191). The Indians sell vegetables, tortillas, eggs, chickens, and laurel wax, and buy salt, brown sugar, and especially lime (mambe) to be chewed with coca. Each product has a price in Colombian money, whether by quantity or weight. The unit of weight is called an "egg," and more or less equals the weight of a chicken egg. After his few customary transactions, paid for either in cash or in terms, in which the future coffee crop is mortgaged to the

7:Hernández de Alba E-5,4 (no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

civilized tradesman, the Indian turns to drinking guarapo or chicha and becomes drunk. Often a heated discussion, always spoken in Spanish and not in *Páez*, leads to insults and perhaps to blows and injuries. A man's wife usually maneuvers him from the village and, if he falls asleep on the road, she sits by him warding off dangers.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

Political structure.—The *Moguex*, *Páez*, *Guanaca*, *Timand*, and *Yalcón*, despite their great similarity in language and culture, formed separate groups at the time of the Conquest. Each was divided into several communities (parcialidades), of which those of the *Páez* were the most numerous. The *Guanaca* were split between two principal caciques, one of whom, Anabeima, joined the Spaniards against the *Páez* of Avirama. The other cacique was Esmisa, Anabeima's brother-in-law. Each *Páez* community had its own chief, but the communities were grouped into three great divisions. One consisted of the *Páez*, *Tálaga*, *Simurga*, and *Taravira*, on the shores of the Páez River. The chiefs of three of these groups were brothers; that of the fourth was their sister, whose name was Taravira. Another group was headed by Suin, and his son, Esmisa. In the third group, Avirama was joined by other neighboring chiefs of less importance.

Each community (cacicado) consisted of several polygynous families under a male chief (pl. 185, *top, left*). Each family had its own house, located some distance from its neighbor's. All the members of a community gathered for general work, and all or several of the communities united for war, either against the *Pijao*, their feared neighbors, or against the Spaniards.

The place of a cacique's residence was a sort of focal point and meeting place, and today most of such places are Indian villages with the same names, such as Suin, Tálaga, Avirama, Togoima (formerly Toboima), etc. The present *Páez* Indian reservation of Tierradentro is divided politically into two municipios—Páez or Belalcázar and Inzá—with 22 communities, each governed by its own councils (cabildos, of Colonial origin) and by the municipal authorities. The cabildo is elected annually. The Indians, however, are jealous defenders of their traditions, and insist on a captain and síndico, each with life tenure, to act as their own leaders and as true representatives of the cacique. Their duties are moral and fiscal and carry a certain divine authority, as they are inaugurated in the local church. The cabildo, on the other hand, has only administrative and police powers; it divides the land, orders work to be done, and executes the municipal orders. The members of a cabildo hold office for 1 year and receive no remuneration. They are elected on the first of December by all the male adults, or "macaneros," that is, the Indians who participate in the communal work according to a

7:Hernández de Alba E-5/(no date) 1948 SC15 Paez SC15
Moguex

535 There is much dancing today. The sexes perform in couples or separately. Among the *Moguex*, some of the expert dancers are paid to dance with all couples in a sort of "bambuco." Dancing is always a part of *Páez* ceremonies for the death of children, baptismals, weddings, saint holidays, and meetings for collective work (mingas) held in the evening when people return from their plantations.

[585] Dancing, as other social events, is subject to a special ceremony or etiquette, strongly connected with religious beliefs. For example, in the wedding celebration, a prayer is first said in which the souls of [608] the dead are asked permission to dance, or "scrape the floor," as they call dancing. Only the godparents and the bride and groom may [527] dance at the beginning.

526 The *Páez* do not masquerade, but the *Moguex* always masquerade during the period of carnival preceding Holy Week.

[524] **Games.**—Games do not hold an important place among these peoples. The children amuse themselves by imitating the activities [857] of their elders. The only game recorded is simulated warfare, per- [769] formed as a part of a rite in honor of the dead after a communal feast. Two teams under their captains or caciques attacked and shot arrows at each other. Even if some contestants were killed or wounded, no one bore a grudge.

276 **Narcotics.**—The *Páez* and the *Moguex* chewed coca leaves mixed in the mouth with lime powder. Coca chewing is widespread among [756] men, but very little practiced by women. It is used especially by the shaman when he is practicing. In Colonial times the use of coca [177] spread to the rural population of Mestizos and Whites in Nariño, Cauca, and Huila.

273 **Alcoholic beverages.**—These Indians formerly made chicha of maize, [178] but today they ferment it with sugarcane molasses. They also have fermented sugarcane juice (guarapo), and a sort of rum (aguardiente). The latter is distilled clandestinely in their huts from guarapo and certain herbs fermented together in earthenware crocks. The Indians drink guarapo every day, but restrict the use of chicha and the stronger guarapo and aguardiente to market days, religious feast days, burials, weddings, mingas or meetings for work, and witchcraft [462] ceremonies. Guarapo and chicha are made by women, who sometimes chew the maize to increase its fermentation. They are stored in large, hollowed tree trunks and in large earthen jars, which are kept in a special place in the hut. There is never a lack of these beverages for home use and for welcoming an unexpected visitor.

RELIGION

175 The early Spaniards had little understanding of the religion of these 771 people. They reported that the Indians had but few idols and no temples or places of worship. Castillo mentions that they wor-

/186 cont./

837 Should an unfaithful wife conceive a child by a man
851 racially white and the husband not be aware of it, the latter considers it his child even if it should inherit the characteristics of its progenitor. He will simply observe, "Why do my children come like this?" His wife answers him, "I don't know; it may
581 be echi or Pijao." In general marriages are well established and
593 stable, in spite of the fact that occasional tensions may arise between spouses. Divorce is unknown among the Páez. Extinction
586 of marriages by separation or the abandonment of one of the spouses is rare. In Calderas they can count on the fingers of one hand the cases where a man has abandoned his wife. "This is very ugly in a person, it should never happen," comments a woman. Cases in which a woman abandons the husband are much rarer still, being bitterly criticized when they occur.

594 The mother has the obligation to feed and care for her
854 children up to when they can leave home. Labor which she
[853] truly performs with love and care. The children suckle until they are two years old and even up to three, a period during which she never leaves them at any time. She cradles them on her breast or in the hammock and carries them on her shoulders,
594 attending to them lovingly whenever they cry. The father looks
867 after his boys from the time that they gain complete mastery of
[593] the biped state, without this making him less loving toward his daughters. Then he begins to take his sons everywhere.

During religious festivals they sit at his side, participate in the conversation of their elders, and are served food and
[273] drink in the same way as their elders. In Calderas and in /187/ San Andrés we had the opportunity to observe children five years old reeling under the effects of chicha and aguardiente. At this age, when they begin to take part in the economic life of the family group, the father teaches them to chew coca. The father conscientiously performs this labor of endoculturation.

597 We have not come across any cases of adopted children.
736 When both parents die, the children stay in the home of the nearest relative.

593 The conduct of the children toward their parents is that of deep respect. Nevertheless, in Calderas we witnessed the verbal